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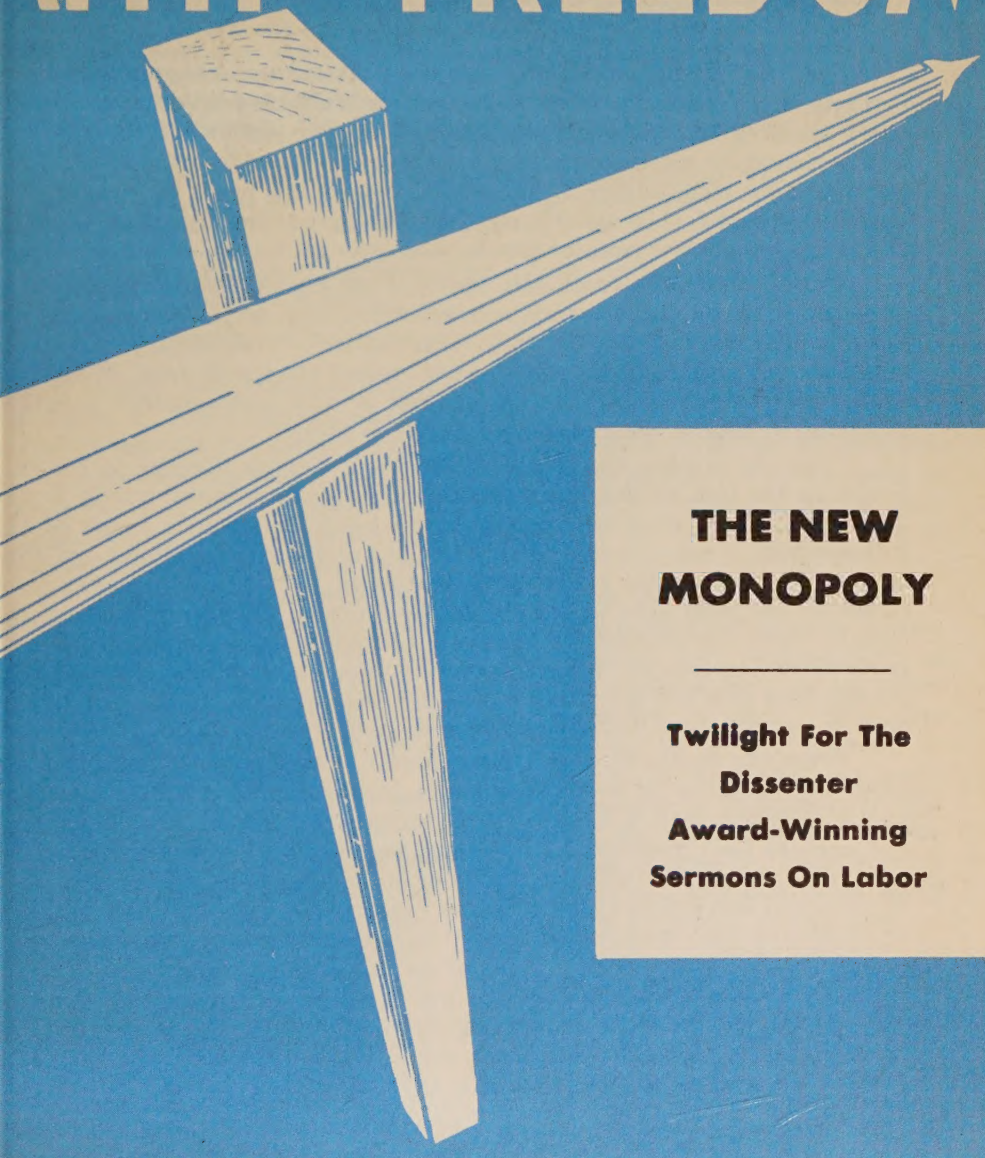
v Perspectives in

AITH AND FREEDOM

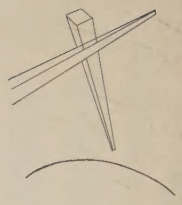


THE NEW MONOPOLY

Twilight For The Dissenter

Award-Winning Sermons On Labor

The Liberating Spirit



(What it means to be a Libertarian)

I am the Liberating Spirit. I am the unrelenting antagonist of every tyranny that fetters the body, every superstition that muddies the mind, every idolatry that enthrals the soul. Wherever unscrupulous men rule and regiment by means of these, I am the power they fear the most. I am the stubborn siege-tower of integrity, the steady lance of reason, the vaulting fire-ball of prophetic passion, the advancing trench of inquiry, the sharp, straight arrow of truth.

As new occasions teach new duties, I am known by different names. Sometimes, through distortion, misunderstanding, or jealous rivalry, my liberalism is called "radical," my conservatism, "reactionary." But the labels do not matter, for I am a spirit rather than a dogma. Wherever chains are being broken, whether ancient or new, and whether political, material, or moral, the Liberating Spirit is there.

I was there when the Greeks lifted their singing temples to the sky. I was on the lips of the Nazarene as he flung his winged words to the world. After the long darkness, I was a lamp on the new roads of the Renaissance. I was the wind that blew the ships to Jamestown and Plymouth, the shout of the rebels at Concord and Lexington, the sober resolution of the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the brooding purpose of Lincoln, the Emancipator. I was in the dauntless, hardy, sometimes ruthless and fool-hardy, avalanche of energy that won the West and built such industry, abundance, and freedom as never before had been known on earth.

From the names by which I am named and misnamed, and from the changing patterns of need, sometimes conserving, sometimes creating, and sometimes both, I have the appearance of a chameleon. Men must not mistake the appearance for reality, for, again, I am not a dogma but a spirit. I mark the times to hang on or let go, and I put up the roadsigns of direction and warning, as occasion requires, to keep the traffic-stream of history on the freedom-road. I am the voice of protest when my name is purloined to put a protective color on enslavement; the voice of thundering prophecy when, by license, I am betrayed, or, by apathy, denied.

But always I am the Liberating Spirit, the integrity, the reason, the passion, the inquiry, and the truth which alone can make and keep men free. This is what it means to be a Libertarian.

Edward W. Greenfield

The New Monoply

dward W. Greenfield

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OF RELIGION

The Labor Day issue of FAITH AND FREEDOM introduced ten moral andards in the light of which present-day unionism must be evaluated. The rst four of these, dealing with union violence, compulsory membership, special rivilege, and concentration of power, were represented as primary, the remain- g six as derivative. The first and third topics have been treated in earlier issues f the magazine, and the second, "The Rightness of the Right to Work," was ublished as a supplement. The fourth, discussing concentrated monopoly ower, follows below.

The remaining six "standards" will appear in forthcoming issues. The ight to Work pamphlet is still available at 10c per copy. But because of their gnificance, the three other articles, if demand justifies, are herewith being ffered in a single pamphlet at 20c each (lower prices for quantity orders) under ne title, THE INTIMIDATED SOCIETY, THE STORY OF UNION VIO- ENCE, PRIVILEGE, AND POWER.

Early in July, 1958, Teamster Presi- ent James R. Hoffa announced that e had linked half the nation's trans- ortation workers in a mutual aid pact vith the National Maritime Union and ne International Longshoremen's As- ociation. Hoffa promised that in the ear future he would complete a more igantic merger of unions in all the ransportation media on land and sea nd in the air.

Said Hoffa in an earlier statement: There's no place today for the small nion or the small business."

Though Hoffa denied that he was recting "a big transport monopoly," obert F. Kennedy, chief counsel for ne Senate Rackets Committee, ex- ressed an alarm not felt by him lone: "The prospect of a transport uper-union headed by Mr. Hoffa is ar, far more dangerous to the United tates and its economy than all the Mafia and secret criminal organiza- ions combined!" Said Congressman Clare R. Hoffman: "If such a federa- ion calls a strike, they could starve us nto submission in six days."

The Internal Security Subcommittee eported to the Senate Committee on ne Judiciary: "The transportation alli- nce, in its full potentialities, could onstitute a dangerous challenge to ne power of the United States Gov- ernment itself. The alliance constitutes a monopoly in the transportation in- dustry which threatens the economic life of the nation and which could be employed to strangle the military forces of the nation in the event of war." [1]

Hoffa as Whipping Boy

Jimmy Hoffa has deservedly become the number one whipping-boy of America, unloved by even his fellow union leaders in that other giant merger, the AFL-CIO. Eldorous L. Dayton, in his searching and some- what sensational biography, *Walter Reuther, the Autocrat of the Bargain- ing Table*, points out that "Reuther and Hoffa hate one another, as strong men of a type hate one another . . . The notion has been seriously ad- vanced by *Newsweek* magazine that Reuther is behind the charges of the McClellan Committee against Beck and Hoffa." [2]

It is quite proper, therefore, even in union circles, to "hate Hoffa" and fear

[1] Committee pamphlet, dated Dec. 17, 1958, entitled, "The Alliance of Certain Racketeers and Communist Dominated Unions in the Field of Transportation as a Threat to National Security," pp. 32f. Government Printing Office, 1958.

[2] pp. 247f. Published by Devin-Adair, New York, 1958.

his gigantic, growing power. He has given organized labor a malodorous name, and nothing more surely aggrieves the leaders and members of "legitimate" and "honest" unionism than to be linked with the tribe of Hoffa, Beck, Bridges, Bradley, *et al.*

The Teamsters, Longshoremen, Bakers, Brewers, Carpenters, and others whose activities have been exposed as corrupt are only a "minority," and Hoffa, as the major figure in this coterie of the corrupt, is "the great exception" to the alleged purity of the bulk of union leadership. After all, did not the noble order of the AFL-CIO, courageously and at great financial sacrifice, remove the bad apple from its beneficent barrel?

Virtue by Disassociation

This, at least, is the picture that the public is expected to accept. Because Hoffa is dangerously evil and has been expelled from the company of fellow unionists, those who have done the expelling are presumed to be righteous. The Ethical Practices Committe is supposed to be proof of their righteousness. Religious leaders of all faiths, including the National Council of Churches, have declared them so.

It is the old and sometimes legitimate artifice of avoiding "guilt by association" through exercising the virtue of disassociation, not unlike Pilate's washing his hands.

It is our contention that, in the language of inelegance, this is mostly "eye-wash." We could use the still stronger term, "brain-wash." For the primary issue with which organized labor confronts America today is not corruption, as serious as this undoubtably is, but power.

Power that is corrupt is probably worse than power that at least tries to be benevolent, but if, by virtue of sainthood, the wielders of colossal union power avoid corruption of the Hoffa variety, there is no evidence in history that even well-intentioned power can be used without becoming tyrannical. Tyranny is no less terrible when a ruling clique is bent upon enforcing its own brand of professed righteousness.

Power for Good?

Hence the lifted eyebrow when President George Meany, speaking of the merger of the AFL and CIO, declared: "We are banded together for the welfare of the many, not the few, and if there is fear about too much power, how can there be too much power if the power is used only for good?" More recently he has said, "Labor is going to be just as political as it has to be to win its objectives."

It should be noted that every totalitarian movement, especially as led by Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, has justified its drive for power by the claim of "doing good." Mr. Meany is doubtless sincere, and has himself no ambition to be a dictator; yet these utterances from organized labor's highest and most respected official help to explain why the code drawn up by the Ethical Practices Committee never mentions power, whether economic or political, as a subject for moral examination.

The Ethics of Power

The total problem of the ethics of power is beyond the scope of this study, except to question the claim sometimes made that power in itself is morally neutral. At least two of the questions to be raised are whether we are speaking of persuasive power or coercive power, and whether any kind of power can exist without reference to its actual or potential use.

In any case, the real moral issue is "too much power" of the coercive variety in the hands of any one group as over against other groups. Nor is this issue, as often contended on both sides of the fence, a simple matter of measuring the power of organized labor, whether "too much," "too little,"

or "evenly balanced," as over against the power of business and industry. Evaluating the relative strengths of organized labor and industry can too easily erupt into a semantic quarrel over the kind of power in question and into a statistical battle of claims and counterclaims, difficult to prove one way or the other. [3]

The question of too much power, whether in the hands of industry, finance, labor unions, political parties, or even the church, is whether any one group enjoys, or is on the way to, such concentration of coercive power as to dominate and proscribe the freedoms of a whole people. The kind of power that concerns us here is that which threatens individual liberty. It is the kind of power that uses and seeks the authority or indulgence of the state to impose the will and serve the interests of a particular group at the expense of the rest of society.

The Power of Business

It may be true, as contended by Dr. Berle, that "the highest concentration of economic power in recorded history" resides in the hands of some five hundred corporations. Aside from Dr. Berle's own admission that the results of this presumed concentration have been "surprisingly good," the division of such power among five hundred industrial, business, and financial organizations is a considerable division, indeed!

This power does not reside in the hands of a few men at the top of an industrial pyramid who can dictate to the rest. Many of these corporations and business institutions are in competition with one another, each determined to outdo the other in attracting customers with better goods and services at lower prices.

Throughout the business world in a free market system the customer is king, no matter how much wealth a producer possesses. No one forces a customer to buy, and, while there are doubtless violations and exceptions, government is diligent in breaking up business monopolies which restrict or seek to control the market in which to buy.

Despite all the calumny to which it has been subjected, competition in a free market, in which the success of an enterprise depends largely upon the ability to satisfy customers, is, from the consumer's point of view, the most beneficial system yet devised!

In such a system, a monopoly which reduces or eliminates the consumer's choice among prices and products by deliberate restraint of trade is evil. Americans have long acknowledged this in their anti-trust laws, and the whole trend of law in the past thirty or forty years has been to prevent monopolies in business and to deny governmental privilege.

Business Monopoly vs. Union Monopoly

For example, when recently a number of new car dealers in Washington, D.C., tried to fix uniform higher prices on new cars and accessories, and uniform hourly labor rates for repair work on cars, they were indicted for violation of anti-trust laws and heavily fined. Such combinations and monopolies which eliminate competition are considered to be forms of conspiracy against the best interests of the buying public.

But this is not the case when such a monopoly occurs in a labor union!

Plumbers, brick layers, carpenters, electricians, barbers, and others may form a union and establish what is called a "union wage scale," which every customer must pay. Independents who are willing to provide the same services at lower costs are not

[3] Compare, for example, *The Economic Analysis of Labor Union Power,* by Prof. Edward H. Chamberlin (American Enterprise Association, 1012 14th St., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.) and *Economic Power and the Free Society,* by Dr. A. A. Berle, Jr. (Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N.Y.). Both are pamphlets.

infrequently harassed and even subjected to violence until their "unfair" competition is eliminated. This, too, is monopoly!

Recently a high school undertook to provide a public concert for the purpose of raising money. The musicians' union protested the voluntary performance of the students unless an equal number of members of the union were permitted to stand by at union wages.

A congregation undertook to build its own church by volunteer labor because unable otherwise to finance a new building. The project was picketed by the carpenters' union as "unfair to organized labor."

A janitor in a school at which some electrical work was being done undertook to save time and money by voluntarily replacing the bulbs and globes in the light fixtures. The union electricians refused to continue with their work until the bulbs and globes were taken down in order to be installed by themselves at union wages.

In all such monopolistic practices it is the public that pays—*and virtually nothing in law is being done to protect the public!*

Industry-Wide Union Power

The concentration of union monopoly power is recognizable in still more glaring form in the monolithic structures of organized labor which cover an entire industry, including competitors and subsidiaries. Such industry-wide monopoly power is readily recognized and deplored in the trucking industry with its Teamsters. The power of the Teamsters to paralyze the economy of the nation is already great. The still greater power implicit in Hoffa's projected combination of the unions in all transportation facilities is frightening.

But such monolithic structures also exist in what are often regarded as more "respectable" unions in the fields of automobile manufacturing, the building trades, the mining and steel industries, and even music and theater.

Wherever such vast monopoly powers exist, they are not to be measured alone in their relation to the industries involved. The larger industries are beginning to find ways of their own to deal with the big unions.

The airlines, for example, are pooling profits to help withstand a strike against any one airline; a thousand super-markets in Los Angeles locked out all union employees when the Retail Clerks' Union struck against two or three; the trucking firms in eleven western states did the same when the Teamsters struck the firms in a single locality. It is not in the union-industry equation that the unions may best be shown to have too much power.

The danger of too much power is to the public, including working people themselves! It is they who are caught in the middle!

What Union Monopoly Does

The most conspicuous example in big industry is Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers. Covering, as it does, almost the entire realm of automobile production, from the making of the tires and electrical appliances to final assembly in each of the competing companies, the UAW has monopoly control over virtually all production workers in the industry. Such concentration of power has several consequences:

Fixed Cost

In establishing essentially the same rates of pay and other benefits throughout the industry by what is called "pattern bargaining," it reduces the possibility of competitive advantage for any one company. At first blush this might appear desirable, until it is recalled that, in fixing industry-wide standards, it establishes a price below which the cost of automobiles cannot go. It is the consumer who must pay the cost that is thereby

just as much "fixed" as the price structure attempted by the Washington new car dealers.

Inflationary Pressure

In demanding constant increases in wages and benefits, and being able to enforce these demands by the immense power of its strike weapon, the union monopoly forces prices upward in a pattern that also affects the pocketbooks of consumers. The wage-price spiral is one of the cruelest of inflationary pressures, hurting everyone outside the industry who is not in a position to increase his income, and, in practical effect, depriving the automobile workers themselves of the real benefit of their increased number of dollars.

It is always the customer, including the union member in his role of customer, who finally pays.

Unemployment

If a considerable number of customers are unwilling or unable to pay the higher price, a still worse evil arises, for then the volume of sales declines. The consequence is economic recession and its attendant unemployment. Of all industries, the worst hit by unemployment in the 1958 recession was the automotive industry and, by chain reaction, the numberless other businesses directly or indirectly dependent upon it.

Closed Doors

Moreover, with the "union shop" agreements that the UAW has been able to wrest from virtually every employer in its far-ranging empire, few automobile production workers may qualify for a job in the industry without paying dues. Desiring, or being forced, to leave the union in one company, and therefore being forced from his job, a laborer is barred by the union from permanent employment almost everywhere else in the field.

For one whose primary skill is in automotive production, this is a tyranny of major proportions. It is not difficult to visualize the scope of this tyranny if organized labor's expressed ambition to bring compulsory unionism to all industry is realized.

In short, monopoly power, no matter in whose hands it resides, is always the power to benefit one segment of society at the expense of the rest of society. Wherever competition and freedom of choice have been reduced or eliminated by the concentration of power in the hands of any one organization, society is at the mercy of that power!

With industry itself increasingly subject to the irrepressible and largely irresistable demands from such industry-wide unions as the UAW, the Steelworkers, the Carpenters, and the Teamsters, each with monopoly control in its field, the economy of the entire nation is endangered.

The Concentration of Concentrations

Yet the extent of monopoly power on the part of large unions does not end here. *When such unions themselves combine in order to reinforce one another in their demands and ambitions, their power is well-nigh invincible!*

It is this combination of powers devoted to common ends for the benefit of any particular group that is

> *"The powers in the hands of men who command international unions must carry with them corresponding responsibilities. These responsibilities must be insured by appropriate legislation. This is not anti-labor. It is anti-monopolistic — just as needed legislation of an earlier day was anti-monopolistic in the realm of business."*
>
> Arthur E. Summerfield
> U. S. Postmaster General

widely recognized as the great peril in Jimmy Hoffa's projected super-union. What is overlooked too easily, however, partly because they appear to share this fear of Hoffa's super-union, is that the AFL and the CIO, either as separate entities or in their newer and tightening merger, are also super-unions of immense power!

Much is made of the rivalry that frequently exists between individual unions. Some will sanguinely point to the rivalry between the Hoffa and Reuther empires, to the uneasy alliance of the AFL and CIO, to jurisdictional disputes over which of two or more unions shall organize a plant, and to the occasional "raids" which one union will make upon the membership of another, as signs that the house of organized labor is too divided to become a complete monopoly.

Workers, Unite!

But the leaders of organized labor are themselves thoroughly concerned about this rivalry and its interior threat to union monopoly power. Their whole purpose in merging forces and seeking to establish a more centralized command is to reduce and, if possible, eliminate divisive rivalries.

Accordingly, "ethical practices" include a ban upon "raiding," and every effort is being made to prevent jurisdictional disputes and the boycotting of sister unions. Even in the expulsion of the Teamsters and other corrupt unions from the AFL-CIO, the door was left open for restoration; and cooperation with the expelled unions is still permitted and even encouraged at local levels.

Moreover, the threat of defection from union ranks by disgruntled members, hence diminished control over membership, are among the primary reasons for the tremendous effort on the part of labor leaders to defeat and repeal right-to-work laws. The almost fanatical resistance of union leaders to freedom of choice in regard to union membership is the clearest of all signs that monopoly power is what they are after!

Let there be no mistake about it. Union leaders are painfully aware of the peril to monopoly power that inheres in division and freedom. This would seem to be clearly implied when Hoffa declares that "there is no place today for the small union," and when Meany says that there can never "be too much power if the power is used only for good."

If the ranks of organized labor are not yet completely closed in a solid, united front, it is not because every effort is not being made to accomplish it. With growing political privilege and the tremendous ability and ambition of a Walter Reuther at its command, organized labor shows every promise of achieving gargantuan, unified power in the forseeable future!

Who is Going to Win?

It is difficult to avoid the clear implication of questions raised by V. Orval Watts in his book, *Union Monopoly, Its Cause and Cure:*

"Giant corporations against giant labor unions, with the public in between! Is this what we face from now on in America . . . ? Must we continue to have the head-on clash of stubborn men, with ever more costly nationwide strikes that cause untold loss to millions of innocent bystanders? Or shall government set up machinery to dictate terms and stop this senseless strife? If so, can we be sure that one side or the other may not one day seize the government, or win an election, and establish its own dictatorship?" [4]

The answer seems unmistakable. Concentrated power in the hands of union leaders is not a threat primarily to business, least of all, big business. As already observed, monopoly power

[4] p. 1, Foundation for Social Research, P.O. Box 877, San Jacinto, California.

in the hands of either industry *or* labor is a threat to free enterprise and to the liberties of the whole people.

But the point to be emphasized is that the conscience of America is strongly and rightly arrayed against monopoly in the business and industrial world, but largely oblivious to mounting monopoly power in the labor world! The whole trend of American political life, aided and sanctioned or at least unchallenged by a great deal of religious and moral leadership, is toward dominance by the labor union movement.

It is not a fascist dictatorship of the "right" that threatens America, but a socialist-labor dictatorship of the "left." The political triumph of either would be evil, but the victory of the "left" is the more menacing because so clearly on its way.

The Forgotten Victims

Wherever there is a vast concentration of power, whether in industry or organized labor, it is not really the other that suffers. The managers and large shareholders in major industries can survive under union pressures, at least so long as the industry itself survives.

Those who suffer are the smaller shareholders to whom diminishing profits yield diminishing returns, the workers who are laid off because the lower profit margin necessitates fewer man-hours, the smaller businesses that cannot meet the wage scales for which union pressure on the larger industries set the pattern, and the work-force of the nation as a whole because profits are too meagre to permit industrial expansion, hence the creation of new jobs and wealth.

The problem of "too much power" in the hands of organized labor, then, lies in its relationship to the entire community.

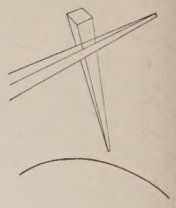
Too much power at the disposal of any group must give it the effect of a government within government, and eventually put it in the position to take over all government. Recall Mr. Meany's statement that "Labor is going to be just as political as it has to be." Even when professing to be benevolent, as Meany does in saying that "we are banded together for the welfare of the many," concentrated power cannot avoid operating at the expense of someone.

And when the claim is made that power is to be exercised for "the welfare of the many" as against "the few," the resemblance to Marxist doctrine becomes too close to be coincidence, though the resemblance is not only unrecognized but even disavowed!

Only an aroused and informed conscience that raises the same kind of protest leveled so long against monopoly power in business can reverse the present dangerous trend. The rousing and informing of conscience *must* be accomplished before too late. The demand for freedom by men of integrity and faith must be sounded more loudly than the seductions and thunder of the demagogues, if freedom and faith are to have any lasting significance.

> *"The tremendous power of the Teamsters now overshadows anything the business barons of sixty years ago could have envisioned. This is a power over every other union in America. It is a power that touches every home in America. We have this power augmented by large tax-exempt treasuries and special laws that make the operations immune from the anti-trust laws."*
>
> **Clark Mollenhoff**
> **Pulitzer prize-winning newsman**

Twilight For The Dissenter



WALTER LEKRONE

Editor, The Indianapolis *Times*

As the fruits of what has been called "liberal" social and political philosophy become increasingly apparent, it is sobering to be confronted with concrete examples of the fruits. Such are provided by the Indianapolis TIMES, whose editorial of November 2, 1958, is reprinted here by permission, and by the confirming news item from the Wooster, Ohio, DAILY RECORD for October 17, 1958, telling of the first of two auctions of a total of twenty-seven horses and a cow confiscated from Amish farmers.

The news item reads in part as follows:

> Ten horses appropriated by the Department of Internal Revenue for non-payment of social security taxes by Amish farmers were sold at auction this morning at the Town and Country Riding Academy in Southwest Canton.
>
> Seven or eight Amishmen showed up, but apparently none was an original owner of these animals. Some came believing their horses would be sold today, but found they were not being auctioned until next week. . . .
>
> Most of the Amish are paying the tax. A small percentage have refused, some for religious reasons, and others because their church does not allow them to collect social security benefits.

The editorial commenting on the second of the two auctions tells its own story:

Over in Wayne County, Ohio, last week end they were holding a horse auction.

The horses on sale were not the usual fancy show stock or the racing or saddle type common to such auctions.

These were sleek, heavy, slow-footed farm horses, built to pull a plow.

They belonged to Amish farmers, of whom a considerable colony has lived quietly and peaceably in that neighborhood for the past 100 years and more, and a few of them, conspicuous in their broad-brimmed black hats and luxuriant beards, stood about silently watching their horses sold. They were not, to be sure, selling their own horses.

The Government of the United States was doing that.

It had seized these plow-horses off these Amish farms with all the majesty of the Law behind it and the power, if it had been needed, of all our armed forces to back it up, to satisfy a "claim" against the owners. These Amish farmers, because of religious scruples against it, had not made their "social security" payments. It was all quite legal—or, anyway, nearly all.

As the sale began, a young Oberlin College student turned up wearing on his back a crudely hand-lettered sign that read, "If Government can take these horses today it could take yours tomorrow—Don't Bid."

He had hardly walked a dozen steps before two burly sheriff's deputies grabbed him and hustled him off to their car. The Gestapo couldn't have done it more efficiently. The sale went on.

The Amish farmers cling to a simple and somewhat primitive faith that forbids them to accept anything they have not honestly earned. That includes the so-called "insurance" or "old age assistance" or "retirement benefits" of social security, along with any other kind of charity, gift, subsidy, or "welfare" handout of any kind whatever from government. They provide for their own old age by life-times of hard work and thrift. They help one another, when misfortune strikes, as a normal act of brotherly obligation. They consider it, indeed, deeply immoral to get something for nothing.

There was a time, and not so long ago, when nearly all Americans felt the same way about such things.

But the Congress in its last session amended the social security laws to extend—as some Congressmen have since declared with pride—what they call its "protection" to some millions of individuals not previously covered by it—whether they wanted it or not. A good many did not, it appears, and some minority groups, such as, I believe, lawyers, managed to get themselves exempted from some of that, but these Amish farmers, of course, had no lobby in Washington to do that for them.

So they now are compelled by law to take part in a program they conscientiously believe is immoral and wrong. When they did not pay up, the Government simply took away from them the horses they must have to support their families now in order that the Government may support them at some future time.

What the federal agents were doing was in strict compliance with the letter of the law. By its terms, any property of anyone who doesn't make his social security payments as ordered can be similarly seized and sold. There is no choice about it, and no consideration given to anyone who for whatever reason may not want this "Security."

Here in Indiana we have lately watched the unrelenting attempts of federal agents to confiscate the tractors of an Indiana farmer to punish him for growing—on his own land, by his own labor and for his own use—somewhat more grain than a federal bureau had decided he should grow. Nor is his an unusual case. All over this country "fines" have been levied, and in general meekly paid without battle or even the formality of a "trial" for this "offense" against the nation.

There are, indeed, few—and year by year fewer—areas of individual life or activity into which federal regulation has not already encroached.

Government now regulates jobs, the relations between employer and employee, the affairs of the unions of workers, the most minute detail of farming, and broad areas of business operations. It has undertaken responsibility for employment and wages and working hours and limited incomes and inheritances. It has gone so far into intimate domestic affairs as to reward large families and penalize small ones. After first making it increasingly difficult for any individual to accumulate savings to support him in his old age, it now has taken over that function, after a fashion, for most of the people of the United States.

It requires—and collects in the form of taxes—on the average more than 10 hours of labor from every worker every week out of the normal 40 hours it has itself decreed by statute is a proper working week. All of this vast levy and more, it either gives away as grants, subsidies, and gifts or spends on the distribution of these handouts.

All this, of course, has been accomplished one little step at a time.

Not even the most vacuous planner ever was foolish enough to offer a whole program of such scope as the one now in operation for approval of the people of this country.

On the contrary, each advance along the route was a small one,

usually made possible by a gift or the promise of something for nothing dangled before one minority group after another like a carrot on a stick. It functions now mainly by a system of rewards and penalties.

An Amish who prefers to support himself by his own efforts rather than to get cash from his government sees his property sold at auction. A Hoosier farmer who wants to grow enough corn to feed his chickens is fined and hectored. Those who surrender their right to decide their own affairs for themselves find it temporarily profitable . . . those who dissent find it costly.

Nor is the program anywhere near its goal.

Every year additions and "improvements" to it are proposed—there are dozens pending right now—every one offering something to somebody, every one demanding the surrender of a little more of the freedom of the individual American citizen and the grant of a little more power to Government over people.

There is, indeed, getting to be less and less room for dissenters in this country.

There could come—and in this direction there will come—a time when there is no room left for them at all. No more, for instance, than there was for the college student at that horse auction when the deputy sheriffs grabbed him.

No government ever has long survived the attainment of any such power. . . .

Even in America there could come a November when there no longer would be an election day.

CECIL B. deMILLE TRIBUTE

In the death of my dear friend, Cecil B. deMille, at age 77 years young, not only the motion picture industry but many other areas of life have lost an irreplaceable champion and dedicated ally. Mr. deMille was interested in and eager to help all good causes. He had been identified with Spiritual Mobilization for more than 15 years, first as a good counselor and friend and later as a member of the Board of Directors. When he could not attend meetings he was usually represented by one of his trusted, intimate associates.

Mr. deMille was interested in the whole gamut of freedom under God, of which Spiritual Mobilization is just one facet. He helped organize The Freedom Club, Inc. He founded the Freedom Library. He championed right to work and himself refused compulsory unionism though it would have been immensely profitable to him to knuckle in.

He was probably the greatest preacher that ever lived, in the matter of the number of people to whom he presented the great truths of the GREAT BOOK, the Bible. His two editions of King of Kings (1926 and 1957) have been seen by countless millions earthwide. His various pictures have been seen by five billion people—a number which staggers the imagination.

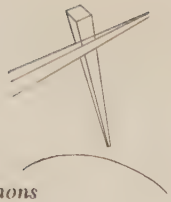
Mr. deMille thought of entering the Christian ministry, his father having been a lay leader in the Episcopal Church, with which denomination he retained his membership until his death. His family practiced daily Bible reading through all the years as had his parents' family. On one occasion I called on him in the hospital after he had had surgery. We visited of casual things and then of the deeper spiritual things—after which I offered prayer, as is my custom. When I had said the Amen of the prayer he held my hand and said "Priests, Bishops, Pastors, Rabbis and others have visited me here, but you are the first person who brought God with him." It reflected his spiritual sensitivity and evidenced the anchorage of faith which was unfailing always.

I loved Cecil B. deMille. I shall reverence his memory. President Ingebretsen and others of the Spiritual Mobilization Board would join in thanking God for such part of C.B. as rubbed off on us and on our organization through the years. May his films on the Christian faith multiply his witness and may his soul rest in peace.

James W. Fifield, Jr.
Chairman of the Board of Spiritual Mobilization

The Pulpit On Labor

Excerpts From The Award-Winning Sermons



It is with pleasure that we present the seven winners of awards for sermons delivered last September on the theme, "Moral Standards and Labor Today." Also the excerpts published herewith (some slightly edited and sub-heads added) should be of interest as samplings of what thoughtful and courageous clergymen are saying — with apologies for the limitations of space which prevent doing justice to the sermons or publishing all in this issue. The remainder will appear in our next issue.

Spiritual Mobilization does not necessarily endorse the whole content of the award-winning entries, but it is significant that no sermon was submitted to claim the $100 award for an effective challenge to our fundamental position. Not all the ministers dealt critically with organized labor as such, but constructively explored our larger area of concern, the problems of man at work in today's world.

Literary merit was not considered in determining awards, nor was complete accuracy of all details. Winning sermons were determined by such qualities as courage, forthrightness, communicability, and depth of Christian concern and understanding insofar as these could be judged from a manuscript.

THE $100 FIRST-PLACE AWARD

The Rev. George K. Bowers
Christ's Lutheran Church, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

"THE CHURCH AT HOME IN BUSINESS!"

I have a special message today for all those who have killed someone during the past week! Anything that you have done during the past week that makes it difficult for you to give a good account of yourself to God, or that makes it difficult for your brother to fulfill his rightful possibilities in life, has been a murderous act.

Some of you will rebel against so serious a charge. "What I do is my own business!" you will cry. If you are an employer, you may say, "My business is my own, to run as I choose. After all, the chief end of business is profits. The workmen must look after themselves."

If you are a laborer, you may say, "The chief purpose of working is to earn more and more money; the easier, the better! After all, why should I concern myself with what happens to my employer or his business as long as I get what's coming to me?"

Man's Standards vs. God's

Thus, labor and management have in large measure sought to set their own standards, and by those standards they seek to order their lives, and the attitude of both toward the other is, "May the Devil take the hindmost!" But the Devil is in the vanguard of a philosophy such as that! . . .

Long, long ago God set up His standards and ordinances for man and decreed that "every man shall give account of himself to God." No person can say, "What I do is my own business and mine alone!" It is not. All business is God's business. All businessmen are God's men. The Church is at home in business or industry, no matter what that business or industry may be. The church has a voice that can speak with authority and understanding to labor and capital alike, for *it is always the business of the Christian to make his business Christian!*

Christian Standards for Work

1. No business is Christian unless it can provide for every person engaged in that business *some effort and achievement in which that man can take pride!* Every man wants to be allowed to "labor, working with his hands the thing that is good." No honest laborer wants some crippling strike or some non-sensical "slow-down" to rob him of a sense of achievement in his chosen field. . . .

It is a pitiful circumstance when leaders of those who labor forget this soul-hunger in the hearts of those they lead, this yearning desire to see worthy fruits from their labors, this pride in doing that which is a fit result of a man's abilities and his efforts. Often slow-downs and strikes are ordered without any concern for the truth that a man does not live by bread alone.

Moreover, when destructive violence to the efforts of others is coupled with those strikes and slow-downs, the worker feels a double guilt. Not only is he unable to give a good account of himself to God, but he has also permitted a stumblingblock to be laid in the path of his brother!

II. In the second place, no business is Christian unless it can enable everyone in that business to attain *results that give him a kinship with others who have benefitted mankind!* Such results come only through self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice. Modern unionism has become one of the most vicious powers for centering a man's whole attention on self that the world has ever known.

Long ago Phillips Brooks spoke of The Principle of the Crust, whereby he meant the hindrance or obstacle which may center around an object and prevent a power from outside from reaching it or affecting it. . . . It is the business of Christianity and of the Christian man to resist with all powers available this forming of the Crust of Self in such a fashion as to keep out the warm and loving influences of God. The man whose chief care in this world is personal profit and self-aggrandizement is sure to succumb to the Principle of the Crust. He will never be able to add to the world that which will benefit mankind, for his very hardened self has effectually insulated him and isolated him from the rest of mankind.

III. In the third place, no business is Christian unless it gives to everyone engaged in that business a *sense of activity and achievement that links him with God!* Too many things that the union asks the laborer to do are of such nature that he cannot possibly feel any kinship with the eternal Father as he does them!

Redeeming the Deserts

When Jesus sent forth the Seventy to preach, He sent them into every city and place, *whither He himself would come.* . . . They were, in the spirit of John the Baptist, to "throw up in the desert a highway for our God!"

There are numerous deserts in which we can work in days like these. There is the area of wage demands, where a man wants to "get what's coming to him," whether it's coming to him or not! What a desert that is to work in! And you may be able to throw up the Lord's highway there.

There is the realm of picket line terrorism, where some believe you have the right to threaten and commit any secret or overt act. What a desert that is! And someone who breaks through the Crust of Self may be able to throw up a highway for the Lord there!

There are any number of similar deserts in the world of business and industry where God can make Himself at home and can cause the desert to blossom as the rose! All it takes is employers and laborers who are willing to make it their business to make their business Christian because they want to give a good account of themselves to God!

The Six $50 Awards

The Rev. Curtis Dickinson
The Christian Church, Fowler, Kansas

"A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF LABOR"

The crisis from which labor finds it so hard to extricate itself is but the natural result of that increasing gulf that has yawned between man's immediate activity and his ultimate goal. The same crisis may be seen in other ventures of life, such as marriage and recreation. When the ultimate goal is lost to view, the home becomes merely a convenience, and recreation is subject to whatever lowly instinct happens to get the immediate attention. Separating the means from the end results in corruption throughout society, but nowhere is the result more keenly felt today than where man's work is separated from his life-motive.

The crucial point of this separation focuses on labor because of the simple fact that a man must give the best part of his day to his work. Eight hours or more he spends at his work. These hours must be meaningful, related to his entire purpose in life, always contributing to the ultimate goal of life, or else they become the means of corrupting his life. . . .

God's Purpose for Work

The first problem for everyone seeking the Christian way is not whether he will be a dentist or a machinist, a teacher or a farmer, but whether he will fulfill the purpose of God and His destiny for man. One does not decide first whether he will prune vines, hoe weeds, or harvest grapes. He first must decide whether he will work in the vineyard at all! The purpose of the vineyard is all one, and the master of the field must get all the work done. The individual tasks are appointed according to skill or ability or preference. What counts is that each has a desire to contribute to the finished product. . . .

When one discovers that God has a purpose, and then aligns himself with that purpose, even the most menial task is seen to fit into it. Once he has chosen the production of grapes for a vocation and entered the vineyard, the hoeing of weeds is quite as meaningful as pruning vines. But one who cares not for grapes but sees only the paycheck at the end of the week will despise the weeding task and hate himself for being subservient to weeds. . . .

Obviously many labor with no concern for what they can accomplish or contribute toward a total purpose of life. Hence their work is robbed of its dignity and much of its value. A teacher who teaches for $4,000.00 a year, rather than for the sake of imparting wisdom and learning, is not likely to have the best interest of Johnny and Mary at heart. A preacher is expected to preach for the sake of the gospel. He expects to receive a wage for his efforts, but any man who preaches for the mere sake of a salary is considered a hypocrite anywhere in the world. . . .

Why Do We Work?

It is easy for every person to take a simple test to determine whether or not he is honest with his job. Simply answer this question: If you had all the money you could possibly use, would you still wish to contribute to your job as you now do? Would you still want to teach the youth to see them grow to Christian maturity? Would you continue to nurse the sick, or produce food? One should honestly admit, at least to himself, just what he thinks of his work.

Honest evaluation includes a day's

work for a day's pay. Paul writes "let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labor with his hands the thing that is good." It is significant that the opposite of stealing is labor. But the laborer sometimes forgets that the opposite of honest work is stealing. To sell eleven eggs for twelve would be stealing. To give seven hours work for eight hours pay seems like the same kind of stealing. A Christian can hardly feel he is true in his purpose when he fails to render an honest day's work for his pay.

But the total hours' work is not the only criterion of honest labor. Shoddy work also robs an employer, and worse yet, it robs the worker of his self-respect and pride in accomplishment. The total evaluation must take into account the worth of the work, as well as the worth of the worker. . . .

The Rev. John R. Elliott
The First Baptist Church, Washington, Indiana

"WORKERS TOGETHER"

America's industrial disease is called "the great goof-off" by Charles Brower, president of one of our great advertising agencies. He says, "The land from coast to coast is enjoying a stampede from responsibility. It is populated with laundrymen who don't bother to iron shirts; waiters who won't serve; with carpenters who will come around someday, maybe; with executives whose minds are on the golf course; with students who take cinch courses because the hard ones make them think; with spiritual delinquents of all types who are triumphantly determined to enjoy something which they call 'the great new leisure'."

Another side of America's industrial disease is described for us daily in the news about gangsterism in union leadership, mismanagement in industrial ownership, graft, cheating and hatred on both sides of the labor-management relationship. . . .

What a revolution we would see if our Lord Jesus was the arbitrator in our labor disputes! What a revolution we would see if mutual love became the basis of every union contract! These things cannot be, I suppose, until *every* knee has bowed before Christ and *every* tongue has confessed Him as Lord. But there are principles that can be applied here and now! . . .

Evaluating the Job

When we work thinking of ourselves as directly responsible to our Lord Jesus Christ, it puts upon us a new obligation concerning the type of work we do. One of my seminary professors said that a Christian worker must assume personal responsibility as a producer of goods. Concerning any job he must ask himself, "Is the job useful to society?" Then the professor classified jobs under three old English words:

1. "Wealth"—those jobs which advance human welfare.
2. "Nilth"—those jobs which neither advance nor retard human welfare.
3. "Ilth"—those jobs that destroy human welfare.

The Christian has an obligation to work only at those jobs which definitely contribute to human welfare.

The Rule for Work Relations

Thus the Word of our Lord sets forth the responsibility of the worker. But it speaks not alone to labor. It speaks also to management. The Apostle Paul . . . sets forth the responsibilities of an employer. He must "think of himself as a Christian soul related first of all directly to his divine Lord." The resulting attitude of the employer will bring forth a positive

esponse. For this the Apostle re-hrases the "Golden Rule": " . . . Be s conscientious and responsible to-wards those who serve you as you xpect them to be towards you. . . . "[1]

The worker-employer relationship can never be a one-way street—in either direction! . . .

[1] Ephesians 6, Phillips Translation.

The Rev. John Richard Pack, *Evangelist*
Church of Christ, Madisonville, Kentucky

"LABOR AND THE LABOR UNIONS"

The American people have always been sympathetic to the rights of labor and the laboring people. It is no reflection upon labor to say that many of the laborers have not been thinking for themselves, but have rather allowed certain elements in the unions to lead them and dictate to them what they are to do. The policies of the unions are not shaped by the majority of the members of the union, but are made by a few of the higher-ups, and therefore the common, ordinary laboring man or woman has little to say about the policies of the unions. This in itself is violating the rights of every man and woman to think for himself. . . .

Developments on the labor front in recent years have produced a mood of questioning the "rights" that organized labor has assumed. Distrust has come about, and the American people have in many areas lost confidence in the laboring people. . . . Laboring people, because they belong to unions, have assumed that they have a monopoly upon jobs, and those who have not become affiliated with the unions are being looked upon with derision, being called such vile names as "scab." . . .

The Right to Work

Unions and union members have no right under heaven's sun to force men and women to belong to the unions, whether they wish to belong or not. It is a Constitutional right of every free citizen to belong to a union or some other organization if he wishes, or not belong if he does not so desire. . . .

Under our form of government, it was meant by the Founding Fathers that everyone should enjoy the right to work, to live and enjoy the great privilege of being free men. . . . So long as the citizens did not violate the laws of the land, they were free to think for themselves, work for themselves, and live their own way of life, regardless of whether they met the standard of "higher society" or not. . . .

Diminishing Freedom

Under the present trend, people are slowly losing their rights to speak. Unless a halt is called, . . . we will lose our rights to plan, to vote, and to speak for ourselves. The warning signals are seen by many of the people now, yet with the dominating forces that have been permitted to infiltrate our nation, these warning signals are unheeded, and uncertainties grow day by day.

What more do the union bosses want? What kind of political programs do they advocate? Are they, or are they not, the friends of labor? They are not friends of labor! The union bosses would abolish all right-to-work legislation. . . . Their major objectives are domination over the lives of all the people, and finally control of the central government. When they obtain complete control, they will rule our country as the Communist countries are ruled—by force and fear. Such is their ultimate aim. They seek just that! . . .

AWARD WINNERS TO APPEAR NEXT ISSUE

THE REV. ALEXANDER ST. IVANYI
First Church of Christ, Unitarian, Lancaster, Massachusetts
"CHRIST and LABOR"

THE REV. KENNETH W. SOLLITT
First Baptist Church, Midland, Michigan
"THE BLESSED CURSE"

DR. G. E. SWOYER
Trinity Lutheran Church, N.S., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
"FOUR COMPONENTS OF LABOR DAY"

Friends and Critics

"I am a senior ministerial student in college. I appreciate the work you are doing and would like to receive your magazine, FAITH AND FREEDOM."

Sammy Dement
Brownwood, Texas

"There is one matter involved in this [Mr. Ingebretsen's article, 'Businessmen in the Balance'] which you did not mention. Since the war we have had at least twelve annual wage and fringe benefit raises to big organized labor. A few of these were justified, not necessitating increased prices. But the recent ones have been absolutely unjustified, as they led quickly to price rises, which all of us, including union labor, had to pay. It is particularly unjust to those with incomes NOT rising. And in this connection, it is evident that the makers of steel, autos, coal, etc., did not resist as they should. They took the position that, so long as the public . . . had incomes and were willing to buy . . . the price rises were welcome, . . . and adopted the old motto, 'Let the public be damned'."

Sam G. Peacock, Attorney
Brooksville, Florida

EDITOR'S NOTE: It does seem evident that many businessmen have been complacent about increased demands on the part of organized labor, so long as the rising cost could be passed on to the consumer. The degree of resistance more recently evident stems from the recession, which has brought painfully home to business, and to some unions, the fact that consumers do not or cannot perpetually absorb the increased costs. It should be noted, however, that businessmen have always been reluctant to be pressed by a union to charge prices which put them at a disadvantage in competition with a rival not subject to the same pressure. Moreover, when faced with heavy losses from a strike, which is almost always threatened if union demands are denied, businessmen frequently have no other choice except economic extinction. So long as what is called "collective bargaining" is backed by coercive force, and so long as union demands exceed increases in production, there seems no way to avoid the inflationary effects and tragic consequences of the cost-price spiral.

"It is undoubtedly true that collective bargaining frequently benefits the members of the union engaged therein. I can see also that, not infrequently, an organization of bank robbers could benefit their members by teaching them effective methods of robbing banks, but does that justify permission to organize bank robbers who utilize their collective skills to marked advantage? . . . . Is organization for anti-social purposes ever legitimate? . . . . In my opinion, collective bargaining, by promoting unemployment, is certainly decidedly injurious to the working class."

Willford I. King, Economist
New York, N. Y.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr. King's observation is sound if we define "collective bargaining" as the "collective coercion" into which it has generally developed. It seems important to recognize, as Dr. King does, that any agreement reached under the threat of reprisal if terms are not granted can scarcely be dignified as "bargaining," whether collective or individual.

"One reason why businessmen fall short of knowing what is going on is that they are so busy keeping things going that they do not have time to check on anything but their business. Clergymen, educators, and the professional men in general, as well as most persons working for a living, are in the same boat. The struggle to maintain their income, or to improve it, is such that they do not find time to look into what is going on. If businessmen took time to be on the ball, they would see to it that every employee received a copy of this issue [the Christmas FAITH AND FREEDOM*]."*

H. E. Spitsbergen, President
Liberty and Freedom Press
Washington, D. C.

"In the statement of your 'concern' as a movement, you seek to 'evaluate organizational ways and means rather than persons' against the moral standards inherent in our Judeo-Christian heritage. To attempt such is to reveal the blindness of your bias."

The Rev. Elwyn C. Parlin, Methodist
Manistique, Michigan

EDITOR'S NOTE: If Mr. Parlin means that it is "the blindness of bias" to evaluate in the light of Judeo-Christian standards, we plead guilty. We know of no better standards in terms of which to evaluate. If he is objecting to a separation of persons and performances, we readily admit the difficulty in distinguishing personalities from their philosophies and practices. What we are trying to say, however, is that freedom of enterprise, and the business institutions which represent free enterprise, are good in themselves in spite of the deplorable practices of some businessmen. The reverse seems true of present-day organized labor, despite the commendable personal habits and Christian character of some of its leaders. The very nature of most modern unionism is to use coercion, not only against employers in strikes or threat of strikes, but also against employees by compelling membership and frequently using intimidation against individuals who refuse to conform. Worse than these are the socialistic assumptions upon which even the personally upright unionist can scarcely avoid operating in present-day union philosophy. We renew Mr. Ingebretsen's invitation to let us know of union leaders who represent a more desirable kind of unionism. We should like also to encourage readers to tell us what is wrong with this "bias," if it IS wrong, and why.

ARE WE IMPROVING?

While he has had considerable experience with writing, the new editor readily admits inexperience with publishing a magazine. He continues to experiment with format, type style, arrangement, and kinds of paper to produce as attractive a journal as resources permit.

He hopes that this issue has greater eye-appeal than his two earlier issues, but welcomes constructive criticisms and comments. If you have suggestions that will help toward further improvement, will you let him know?

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STAFF: The Rev. Edward W. Greenfield, E itor; C. C. Johnston, Business Manag

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IN THIS ISSUE

You will find discussions of the following concerns and questions:

What do we mean when we call ourselves Libertarians? - - p. 2

What is involved in the accusation that organized labor is becoming a monopoly? - pp. 3-9

Symptoms of a Police State in America - - - - - pp. 10-12

The sermon award winners on labor problems - - pp. 13-17

Copies of the pamphlet, *The Rightness of the Right to Work,* are still in considerable demand and available at 10c each. If demand warrants, a new pamphlet at 20c each will be issued, containing three of the editor's articles under the title: *The Intimidated Society, the Story of Union Violence, Privilege, and Power.* See p. 3.

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